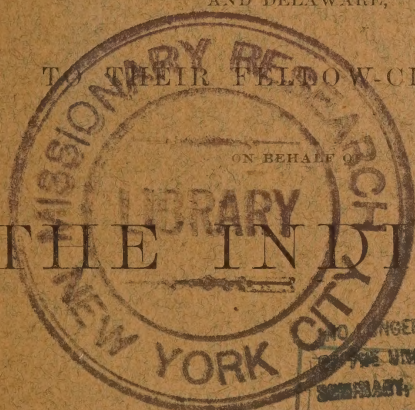


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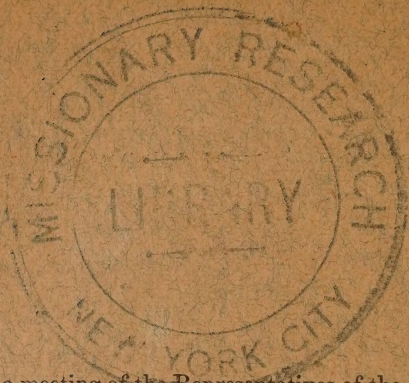
AN ADDRESS
OF THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
Religious Society of Friends,
FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY
AND DELAWARE,
TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS,
ON BEHALF OF
THE INDIANS.



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1891.



At a meeting of the Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, held in Philadelphia, the 3d day of the Fourth Month, 1891 :

The Committee appointed in the Twelfth Month last to prepare an Address to our fellow-citizens on the subject of our Indian population, produced the following essay. Its reading affected our minds with a tender feeling of sympathy for these victims of injustice and oppression; and with a sense of the serious responsibility incurred by the United States in sanctioning or permitting acts which are calculated to draw upon our people the just judgments of the Ruler of the Universe, who as surely inflicts punishment upon nations as upon individuals.

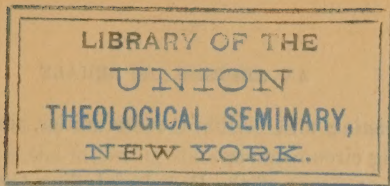
The Address was united with by the Meeting and referred to the same Committee for publication and distribution.

Extracted from the Minutes.

JOSEPH WALTON,

Clerk.

~~1849~~ 1875



AN ADDRESS

*TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS ON BEHALF OF
THE INDIANS.*

IN considering the recently threatened danger of extensive hostilities with the Sioux and other Indians of the Northwest, we have been sorrowfully impressed with a sense of the injustice with which the aborigines of this country have frequently been treated by the white man, and with the adverse circumstances and disabilities to which as a race they are subjected; believing also that they have claims upon us which neither Christianity nor considerations of a wise policy should allow the people of the United States to disregard, we desire to address our fellow citizens on their behalf.

Deprived to a great degree of the means of laying their grievances before the public through ignorance of our language, their views and feelings have often been misjudged or misrepresented; and causes of distrust and alienation between them and the whites which might have disappeared upon mutual explanation or concession, have been harbored and cherished until they have ripened into acts of retaliation and bloodshed.

Although it is no cause for surprise that the Indian when suffering under a sense of wrong and injustice should seek revenge by cruel and barbarous methods, and when engaged in warfare should commit atrocities which cannot be palliated, it does not appear that crimes are thus committed by him more numerous or flagrant than those occurring in what are

called Christian and civilized communities, under the same aggravating circumstances.

In the first report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, a body of citizens appointed in 1869 to co-operate with the administration in the management of Indian affairs, it is stated, page 7:—

“The murders, robberies, drunken riots and outrages perpetrated by Indians in time of peace—taking into consideration the relative population of the races on the frontier—do not amount to a tithe of the number of like crimes committed by white men in the border settlements and towns.”

From a Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1887, page xxxv, we quote as follows:—

“If we except the lawlessness, rapine and murder among the five civilized tribes, I do not hesitate to say that statistics will attest the fact that, in proportion to population, not half as many murders are committed among Indians as among white people, taking any State of this Union for comparison. It is true that under strict police surveillance the Indians are kept, so far as possible, from the influence of intoxicating liquors. Possibly this may account for the comparatively few murders committed. Be that as it may, the fact remains that in the matter of crime and lawlessness the Indian does not suffer by comparison with his white brother.”

In the conflicts which have taken place between the people of this country and the Indians it has been the uniform testimony of those who have investigated the subject, that the white man has been almost invariably the aggressor.

From a Report of the joint special Committee of Congress, on the condition of the Indian tribes, 1867, page 5, we quote:—

“The Committee are of opinion that in a large majority of cases Indian wars are to be traced to the aggressions of lawless white men, always to be found upon the frontier,” and remark that this is the statement “of all those who have been long conversant with Indian affairs.”

In the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1869, page 7, is the following statement:—

“The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man, and the assertion is supported by every civilian of reputation who has studied the subject. In addition to the class of robbers and outlaws who find impunity in their nefarious pursuits upon the frontiers, there is a large class of professedly reputable men who use every means in their power to bring on Indian wars, for the sake of the profit to be realized from the presence of troops and the expenditure of government funds in their midst. They proclaim death to the Indians at all times, in words and publications, making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. They incite the lowest class of men to the perpetration of the darkest deeds against their victims, and, as judges and jurymen, shield them from the justice due to their crimes. Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed or palliated; every offence committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all the horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these, the people of the United States need to be warned.”

In an article by General Nelson A. Miles, in the *North American Review*, 1879, it is stated:—

“Our relations with the Indians have been governed chiefly by treaties and trade, or war and subjugation. By the first we have invariably overreached the natives and we find the record of broken promises all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific.”

In a letter of General George Crook, published in *The Council Fire*, Washington, D. C., Vol. II., page 178, is the following statement:—

"I will say without hesitation, that our Indians have adhered more closely to the spirit of treaty stipulations than the white men or the white man's government has ever done."

In an address by General Henry B. Carrington before the American Association of Science, in 1881, he uses the following language:—

"I say plainly that the red man when he enters into a fair contract understandingly, is as faithful to obligation as the average white man, and that from 1865 until the present time there has not been a border campaign which did not have its impulse in the aggressions of the white man."

The Sioux Commissioners of 1868, four of whom were military men, remark :*—

"That he [the Indian] goes to war is not astonishing; he is often compelled to do so. Wrongs are borne by him in silence that never fail to drive civilized men to deeds of violence. * * * Among civilized men war usually springs from a sense of injustice. The best possible way then to avoid war is to do no act of injustice. When we learn that the same rule holds good with the Indians, the chief difficulty is removed. But it is said our wars with them have been almost constant. Have we been uniformly unjust? We answer unhesitatingly, yes."

At the time this Commission was appointed war was being openly waged by several hostile tribes, and recognizing the fact that in their intercourse with them, the United States had failed in large measure to provide peaceful means of redress, and that the Indian "knows no law but that of retaliation," there was inaugurated what was termed "a hitherto untried policy in connection with the Indians of endeavoring to conquer by kindness." These efforts were attended with such success that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1868, stated that, "lasting beneficial results will no doubt follow a faithful and

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868, pp. 36 and 42.

prompt fulfilment of their promises to the Indians, and of the treaty stipulations entered into with them."

The late President Grant, upon assuming the executive office in 1869, announced that he was in favor of a more humane policy in the management of the Indian tribes than had hitherto prevailed; and adopted the plan of appointing men to represent the government in the care and supervision of them, who were recommended to him on account of their moral and business qualifications by different religious bodies throughout the land; who thus themselves became interested in the welfare of the Indians to a degree previously unknown.

This "peace policy," as it has been well called, was productive of marked improvement in the condition of the great body of the Indians, as shown by statistics of their progress; thus the Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1876, contains the following summary of its beneficial results:—

"Of the 266,000 Indians in the United States, (Alaska not included,) 104,818 now wear citizens dress. In 1868 they had 7,476 houses; now 55,717 houses are occupied by Indians, of which 1,702 have been built during the last year. There are now 344 schools on Indian reservations, with 437 teachers, where in 1868 there were reported 111 schools and 134 teachers. The number of scholars now attending school is 11,328; in 1868 the number was 4,718. The number of Indians who can read is 25,622, and of these 980 have learned to read during the last year, and in this number the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory are not included. There are 177 church buildings on Indian reservations, and 27,215 Indians are church members.

"The area of land cultivated by Indians in 1868 was 54,207 acres, while in 1876 it was 318,194 acres; and 26,873 male Indians, exclusive of the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory, were engaged in labor.

"The principal products of this labor are 463,054 bushels of wheat; 2,229,463 bushels of corn; 134,780 bushels of oats

and barley; 278,049 bushels of vegetables; 13,215 tons of hay, besides cotton, sugar, coal, wood and lumber; while in 1868 the products raised by the labor of Indians and white employes combined were, of wheat, 126,117 bushels; of corn, 467,363 bushels; oats and barley, 43,976 bushels; of vegetables, 236,926 bushels, and of hay, 16,216 tons.

"Eight years ago the stock owned by Indians was 43,960 horses and mules; 42,874 cattle; 29,890 swine, and 2,683 sheep; while the stock now owned by them is, 310,043 horses and mules; 811,308 cattle; 214,076 swine; 447,295 sheep.

"Such are some of the general results; but a more impressive idea of the progress made will be gained by looking at the condition of single agencies."

"Such facts show as we have again and again affirmed in our former reports, not only that wild and savage Indians can be civilized, but that many who were recently savage and warlike are already beginning a civilized life, and that it needs only patient continuance to complete what has been well begun."

We cannot doubt had such a course been consistently and earnestly pursued, that it would have been attended with still greater advancement in the material prosperity of the Indians and confirmed an enlightened and Christian sentiment in the community respecting their character and proper treatment.

During the twenty years which have elapsed since the introduction of this policy, while the great body of Indians have remained comparatively quiet, the causes of complaint which have so often been justly made against the whites have produced in various communities of Indians their natural results, and in several cases led to conflicts which have been attended with the loss of hundreds of lives and great expense.

Fully believing that all war is forbidden by the gospel of Christ and that the actions which lead to it must be at variance with the righteousness which it is declared "exalteth a nation," we have been led to examine the circumstances connected

with the origin of these occurrences, as presented in official documents and trustworthy statements. In this inquiry it is proper to bear in mind the fact that the Indians as a people make no profession of a religion which would restrain them from seeking a bloody revenge when their passions are excited.

THE PIEGAN MASSACRE.

Examining these events in the order of dates we find that the difficulties in 1869 and 1870 which were followed by what is known as the "Piegan Massacre," appear to have been largely due to the discontented condition caused by the failure of the United States to fulfil its promises, and the lawless acts of white people living in that region. The presence of troops was requested by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs largely for the purpose of intimidating the whiskey-sellers and other turbulent white people, but by orders from leading military officers the operations of the soldiers were directed against the Indians, and a band of these not accused of being hostile, and which at the time was suffering from the prevalence of small-pox among them, became the principal sufferers; a large number of those killed being women and children.

*F. D. Pease, acting agent for the Blackfeet Indians, in his report dated August 10th, 1869, states:—

"The Chiefs and head men complain bitterly against the government for the non-fulfilment of the treaties consummated last fall, at or near Fort Benton, between themselves and W. J. Cullen, special agent and commissioner on behalf of the government, under the direction of the President of the United States. They express a willingness to be located at the agency and live in their houses, upon their farms, and conform in all respects to the conditions of the treaty, provided they can be supplied with the necessary farming implements, animals, seeds and subsistence until they can take care of themselves."

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869, p. 300.

"They have learned that the late treaty has not been confirmed, and it is difficult to explain to their satisfaction why such is the case, they having endeavored to keep the obligation sacred on their part, preventing their young men from making raids upon the whites in retaliation for indignities committed upon members of their tribe."

"The country south of the Teton River, ceded to the Government under the late treaty, is being surveyed and fast taken possession of by settlers. In this particular alone, is the treaty being recognized by the government?"

The agent then mentions: "The unfortunate killing of two white men while herding cattle near Fort Benton, on the 17th of July, by Indians, (as yet unknown) in retaliation for which some irresponsible bad white men killed four Piegan Indians, (belonging to the Blackfeet Nation), two of them notoriously bad Indians, one a harmless old man, and the other a boy," and adds: "I fear some trouble may arise from these murders, especially as it now appears to have been other Indians who killed the two white men. The Indians do not seem to care so much about the killing of the first two Indians, but they are exasperated over the killing of the old man and the boy, and though the chiefs are using every exertion to restrain the young men from taking revenge, which usually falls upon defenseless persons, innocent of the deeds for which they are called upon to pay the penalty, I fear they will not be able to control them. In reply to the numerous murmurings and complaints of the tribe regarding the course of the government and indignities committed against them, I can only make poor apologies, having no goods to make presents to the injured ones, as is their custom when wrong has been committed."

In the latter part of 1869, General Sully, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Montana, advised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that he apprehended trouble between the whites and the Indians, chiefly because of the lawless char-

acter of some of the citizens, that the traffic in whiskey with the Indians was carried on to an alarming extent, that two unoffending Indians had been murdered in broad daylight in the streets of Benton, that he intended to try to arrest the murderers, but doubted very much if he could convict them in any court, and stated that* "nothing can be done to insure peace and order till there was a military force strong enough to clear out the roughs and whiskey sellers in the country." In a subsequent despatch he mentioned that further depredations and a murder of a white man had been committed, and forwarded a communication dated September 2d, from Alexander Culbertson, who had lived for some years among the Blackfeet, stating that* "these depredations had been committed by a portion of the young rabble, over whom the chiefs have no control and nothing but the strong arm of the government can control." He states also:* "The non-ratification of treaties made with these Indians has had anything else but a tendency to keep them quiet. Bound by no treaty stipulations they think they have a perfect right to help themselves to any horses falling in their way. I think, however, by keeping up this agency with a small amount of provisions, etc., to be given by the agent as their wants may require, will go a long way toward keeping them quiet, as the fast decreasing herds of buffalo, their only dependence for food, will reduce them wholly to dependence on the government for support."

All these communications were referred to the War Department. In an order dated November 15th, 1869, General Sheridan authorized General Hancock "to punish the Piegans if found within striking distance;" and also, "any of the Blackfeet who may have been engaged in the murders and robberies lately perpetrated in Montana." Nothing was said respecting the punishment of the lawless whites, on account of whom the request for troops by General Sully, the Super-

*Ex. Doc. No. 185, 41st Congress, 2d Sess.

intendent of Indian Affairs, had originally been made: and no measures appear to have been taken to quiet the minds of the other Indians who were peaceably disposed, but who might become alarmed by the appearance of a military force in their immediate neighborhood.

The band of Indians that was particularly complained of was that of Mountain Chief. On the 23d of First Month, 1870, some United States troops under the command of Colonel Baker, surprised the camp of Bear Chief and Red Horse on the Marias River. In his official report, Colonel Baker says: "We killed 173 Indians, captured over 100 women and children, and over 300 horses."

The Indian village that was thus attacked appeared to be living at that time in entire security from any apprehension of danger; was not composed of the Indians belonging to Mountain Chief's band, and was also at that time suffering from the small-pox. By a report* subsequently made by W. B. Pease, the Indian agent for the Blackfeet Indians, it appears that of the 173 Indians killed, but 33 were men. Of the remainder, 90 were women and 50 were children, none older than 12 years, and many of them in their mother's arms. At the time of the attack the camp was suffering severely with small-pox, having had it among them for two months; the average rate of deaths having been six daily.

THE MODOC WAR.

The war with the Modocs in 1873 grew out of a refusal of a certain part of this tribe to remain on their reservation in Oregon, and might have been prevented, in the judgment of the Commission appointed to examine into the causes of it, had the rights of the Indians been properly respected.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report for 1872, page 65, says:

"A part of the Modocs, who belong by treaty to this agency,

*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1870, p. 89.

and who were at one time located upon the reservation, have, on account of their troubles with the Klamaths—due principally to the overbearing disposition of the latter—left the agency and refuse to return to it. They desire to locate upon a small reservation by themselves. Under the circumstances, they should be permitted to do this, or else be allowed to select a tract on the Malheur Reservation.”

Interviews were subsequently held with these Indians, to induce them to return to the Klamath Reservation, which were unsuccessful, and the subject was transferred to the Commandant of Fort Klamath, with the request to remove the Modocs to the reservation, peaceably, if possible, but otherwise forcibly. An officer with thirty troops had an interview with them on the 29th of Eleventh Month, 1872, during which he used every argument in his power to induce them to go on to the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, informing them that ample provision had been made for clothing and subsistence, assuring them of the folly of resistance to the orders of the government. Finding his efforts unavailing, he ordered them to lay down their arms. This order had been partially obeyed, and the prospect was that no serious trouble would ensue, until the demand was made of one of the Indians, who refused compliance, and Major Jackson ordered an officer to disarm him, who advanced to perform the duty with pistol drawn, when both the officer and Indian discharged their arms, but so simultaneously that it is a matter of doubt who fired the first shot. A general engagement ensued between Major Jackson's forces and the Modocs in camp on the west side of Lost River: among whom were three of their leading men, and eleven or twelve other warriors with families.

This was followed by a fruitless attack by an army of four hundred men upon this band of Modocs, entrenched in the “lava beds” in Northern California. President Grant then determined that the Modocs should have a hearing, and appointed a Commission “to ascertain the causes which have

led to the difficulties and hostilities between the United States' troops and the Modocs," and "to devise the most effective and judicious measures for preventing the continuance of these, and the restoration of peace." A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, and word was sent to the Indians that "no act of war will be allowed while peace talks are being had," and "no movement of troops will be made." The military headquarters were then twenty miles from the Modoc camp. Several days elapsed, during which "a herd of Indian horses had been captured by Major Biddle; notwithstanding the Commission had informed the Modocs, through messengers, that no act of war would be permitted." The troops were also moved until the headquarters were within "two miles of the Modoc stronghold." Communications were kept up between the Indians and the Commissioners until the eleventh of Fourth Month, 1873, when the latter were treacherously induced to meet some of the Indians in conference, when two of the Commissioners were murdered in cold blood, and another, Alfred B. Meacham, was seriously wounded.

The excitement caused by this act was followed by sending additional troops, and the final surrender of these Indians, some of whom were tried and condemned by a military court and executed, and the remainder were placed upon the Qua Paw Reservation in the Indian Territory. In his official report upon the causes of the Modoc war, from which the above statements are chiefly compiled, Alfred B. Meacham, surviving Commissioner, says:—

* "I submit * * * that this war was the result of changing agents and policies too often, and the absence of well-defined regulations regarding the relative duties and powers of the Indian and Military Departments, the citizens and Indians. While the 'humane policy' is the correct one, it ought to be well-defined, and then entrusted to men selected on

* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873, p. 81.

account of fitness for the work. No branch of public service more imperatively demands observance of this rule, and when it shall have been fully recognized and adhered to by appointing men to the care of our Indian population whose hearts are in the work, and who understand the duties assigned, and whose term of office depends on faithfully achieved success, we may hope to hear of Indian wars no more."

A. B. Meacham has* elsewhere stated that out of the 169 Indians engaged in this conflict, fifteen men and fifteen women and children were killed; of the former four were killed after they had surrendered, and given up their arms, and four were executed upon the scaffold; one hundred whites were killed, and the expense of the war was over two millions of dollars. He adds:—

"I submit that, had Captain Jack and his band been protected while upon Klamath Reservation, in 1869, or had his plea for manhood's rights been regarded, or, had patience been exercised in enforcing the order for his removal to Klamath, in November, 1872, no war would have occurred. Again I submit that had no Modoc horses been captured by our army during the armistice; or had they been returned when demanded, and no further breach of the compact been made by the movement of our troops under the flag of truce, no assassination would have been committed, and peace would have been secured on amicable terms."

WAR WITH THE SIOUX OF 1876.

An order by the Commanding General to consider all Indians who were found outside of their reservations as hostile, when applied to the Sioux, whose right to hunt beyond these limits had been guaranteed by treaty, and a disregard of other promises made by the United States, led to a war with these Indians

*Life of Alfred B. Meacham. Washington, D. C., 1883. Appendix, p. 48.

in 1876, which the Commission appointed to negotiate with them declared was not only a needless one, but that in the prosecution of it the government had expended more money than all the religious bodies had applied to the improvement of the Indians since our existence as a nation.

Under the treaty of 1868, prepared by several officers of the United States army, and others, among whom was General Sherman, "The United States," to quote the language of the instrument, "solemnly agrees that no person except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents and employes of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the same." The treaty also provides "that the country north of the North Platte and east of the summit of the Big Horn Mountains, shall be held and considered unceded Indian territory; and the United States also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same, or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same." In consideration of these and other covenants, the Indians agree "to relinquish all right permanently to occupy the territory outside of their reservation as defined in the treaty, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any land north of the North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase."

Notwithstanding this express recognition of the rights of the Sioux, to go outside their reservation in the provision of the treaty above quoted, and in other sections of it, in less than three months after its ratification, General Sheridan, by direction of General Sherman, issued a military order, dated "June 29, 1869," in these words: * "All Indians when on their proper reservations are under the exclusive control and

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876, p. 340.

jurisdiction of their agents; they will not be interfered with in any manner by the military authority, except upon requisition of the special agent resident with them, his superintendent, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington. Outside the well-defined limits of their reservation they are under the original and exclusive jurisdiction of the military authority, *and as a rule will be considered hostile.*"

In commenting upon this, the Commission appointed in 1876, "to obtain certain concessions of the Sioux," remark: * "The above order is the more surprising to us when we remember that the treaty made by General Sherman and others expressly provided that these Indians might hunt upon the unceded territory; and we find that so late as its last session, Congress appropriated \$200,000 to be used in part for the payment of the seventh of thirty installments '*for Indians roaming.*' We repeat that, under this treaty, it is expressly provided that the Indians may hunt in the unceded territory north and west of the Sioux reservation, and until last year they had the right to hunt in Western Nebraska. We believe that our failure to recognize this right has led to many conflicts between the citizens and army of the United States and the Indians."

While the Sioux were thus prohibited from roaming over these lands, the whites in large and small companies were not only allowed to pass through them, but were protected by the military in doing so. Expeditions to explore the Black Hills and the unceded country, were fitted out, some of which were accompanied by escorts.

In reference to one of these expeditions made by General Custer, against the protest of the Indians, and the promise of the government to protect the Indians against all intrusion upon their land, the Sioux Commission remarks:

* "Notwithstanding the gross violation of the treaty, no open war ensued. There were instances of conflict between small

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876, p. 341.

bands of Indians and whites; thefts and robberies were committed; small war parties made raids upon the settlements. If our own people had a sad story of wrongs suffered from the Indians, we must not forget that the Indians, who own no telegraph lines, who have no press and no reporters, claimed that they, too, had been the victims of lawless violence, and that they had had a country of untold value wrested from them by force."

The Report of the Sioux Commission further states: "In 1875 a Commission was sent out to treat for the surrender of the Black Hills. We believe that this Commission failed to make a treaty with the Indians, simply because they had no authority to offer them any sum which would be a just equivalent for their right in the Black Hills, or which gave to the Indians hopes for the future."

"We now come to the origin of the present war, [that of 1876.] It appears that Inspector E. C. Watkins, under date of November 9, 1875, made complaint to the Indian Bureau that Sitting Bull and other Indians with him, residing in the unceded territory, were engaged in making raids upon friendly Indians and the white settlers of Montana. He recommended that 'a force of one thousand men should be sent to compel them to submit to the government.' The Secretary of the Interior referred this letter to the Secretary of War for consideration and action. In the letters of Generals Terry, Sheridan and Sherman, and those of the officials of the War and Interior Departments, we find no reference to any hostile Indians, except the "followers of Sitting Bull."

"In the early part of the winter of 1875-'76, many Indians from the different agencies went out with the consent of their agents to hunt buffalo in this unceded territory. They had the right to do this under the treaty. There was more reason for them to go at this time, because there was an insufficient supply of provisions at the agencies. December 6th, 1875, the late Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent instructions to the

several agents to notify the Indians in the unceded territory to come to the agencies before the 31st of January, 1876, or that they would be regarded as hostile."

There were seven agencies thus notified, and steps were immediately taken to inform the Indians by runners, of the demands of the government. "It does not appear," says the Report of the Commission, "that any one of the messengers sent out by the agents was able to return to his agency by the time which had been fixed for the return of the Indians. It is very easy to understand why the most friendly Indians should hesitate to traverse a pathless country without fuel or shelter, at a time of year when fearful storms endanger human life, and with the knowledge that they would find a limited supply of provisions at the agency."

Nevertheless, on the 1st day of Second Month, 1876, the Secretary of the Interior committed Sitting Bull and his followers to the War Department, and three days later General Sheridan reported that Generals Crook and Terry were ready and would move at once against the Indians, and in the latter part of that month General Crook took the field with 1300 troops.

The Sioux Commissioners say, "Of the results of this year's war we have no wish to speak. It is a heartrending record of the slaughter of many of the bravest of our army. It has not only carried desolation and woe to hundreds of our own hearth-stones, but has added to the cup of anguish which we have pressed to the lips of the Indian. We fear that when others shall examine it in the light of history, they will repeat the words of the officers who penned the report of 1868: 'The results of the year's campaign satisfied all reasonable men that the war was useless and expensive. To those who reflected on the subject, knowing the facts, the war was something more than useless and expensive; it was dishonorable to the nation and disgraceful to those who originated it.'

"We hardly know how to frame in words the feelings of

shame and sorrow which fill our hearts as we recall the long record of the broken faith of our government. It is made more sad in that the rejoicings of our centennial year are mingled with the wails of sorrow of widows and orphans made by a needless Indian war."

In this connection it may be proper to quote some passages from an appeal recounting the origin and the results of this war, addressed by Sitting Bull, "To all just and sensible citizens of the United States."

* "No sooner was it known that there was gold found in our lands than white people came in crowds, in clear violation of our treaty with the United States government, and settled upon and took possession of the same. We might then have silenced the last of the intruders, but remembering our treaty, and having yet faith and confidence in the government and army, we preferred to see justice done, and our rights secured by solemn agreement, protected. From time to time some of our bands would visit the whites without any hostile design, when the presence of an Indian would be for them a sure sign that they were to be destroyed. Immediately the Indians would be fired upon as if we were nothing else but savage and dangerous beasts. All this on our own lands, the peaceable possession of which was guaranteed to us by a solemn treaty!

"Was it possible the United States government and the army were powerless in repressing such wrongs? They were either powerless or unwilling. If unwilling they were not fulfilling their agreements. In either case what was to be expected by us? Why should we not do our best for our own protection? Not only did we lose a number of our people, assassinated, as it were, by intruders of all sorts, but when some of their own number would fall victims to the rapacity of their associates, often disguised as Indians, the deed was credited to us, and the whole caused necessarily great alarm.

* * * * *

“Just and sensible citizens, we are not devils, nor are we faithless and heartless! We regret all that has happened, but while white people weep their dead, and the orphans and widows are saddened for fathers and husbands who never returned from that battle-field, will the United States government, the army, and people not look upon the hills where we are exiled, and not see with compassion the tears and sufferings of our own orphans and widows! Will they without emotion, at the night’s return, hear the wailings of the lonely and fatherless—exiled, naked and starved! There is help in the land for your orphans and widows, ours have none! None because they are Indians! For them all friendship is cold; no hand is stretched to them, they have nothing to expect but contempt and extermination.”

OPERATIONS AGAINST THE NORTHERN CHEYENNES.

Under the military order above mentioned, the Northern Cheyennes who were associated with the Sioux, were also considered hostile and became involved in the war. After signing an agreement with the United States that they should be protected in the rights of person, property and life, one of their villages was attacked by United States troops and a large number of its inmates destroyed under circumstances which appear to be entirely without justification.

The Northern Cheyennes were included in the agreement made by the Commission appointed in 1876 to obtain certain concessions from the Sioux Indians. The Chairman of that Commission, George W. Manypenny, in his work entitled, “Our Indian Wards,”* has given an account of the situation of these Indians and the operations of the government against them in 1876, from which most of the following is condensed: By a treaty made in 1868, “they relinquished all right or

*“Our Indian Wards,” by Geo. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1853 to 1857. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880.

claim to any and all territory, except the right to roam and hunt as long as game abounded in sufficient quantities to justify the chase. While exercising this right they were to receive like annual annuities as the nomad Sioux. It was, however, agreed that a permanent home should be provided for them on the reservation of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, [in the Indian Territory], or the reservation of the Crows, or the reservation of the Sioux; and when located on such reservation, school-houses were to be erected and teachers employed; agency houses and mills built, and millers, engineers, farmers, and blacksmiths supplied them, and as the separate families located, each was to receive similar annuities as the Sioux of the same class. The appropriation of \$500,000 made by Congress in 1868, to be expended by General Sherman in commencing the fulfilment of the treaties made in 1867-8, had reference to these as well as other Indian tribes. They were then residing north of the Platte, and had for some time domiciled with the Sioux of the Red Cloud agency."

"On the 10th of August, 1868, by military order, General Sherman created the Sioux District, and assigned General Harney to it, and set apart to his use \$200,000 of the \$500,000. It was expressly declared in the order, that the \$200,000 was to enable General Harney to fulfil the treaty stipulations with the Sioux. The Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes were entirely overlooked. No place was designated by General Sherman within the Sioux or any other reservation for their home. In no communication from him to General Harney or to any other of his military agents, to whom he confided funds to fulfil treaty stipulations, were these Indians named. It does not appear that any of the military agents of General Sherman ever had any interviews with them. From that time forward until September, 1876, when the Sioux Commission, in the agreement then made, incorporated them with the Sioux Indians, the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes had no fixed home, and hence could only rely upon their right to

roam and hunt, and for the exercise of this right, under the military order, of June 29, 1869, [respecting those Indians who were outside the limits of any reservation], they were regarded as hostile, and subject wherever found by military scouting parties to be treated as such and dealt with accordingly."

Efforts had been made prior to 1876 to induce these Indians to join the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in the Indian Territory, but many of them had intermarried with the Sioux, and for other reasons they preferred to remain with the Sioux, who were willing to receive them. The war with the Sioux was inaugurated early in 1876, and in the Third Month of that year, a portion of General Crook's command under General Reynolds, attacked the village of Crazy Horse, on the Little Powder River. A large portion of the Northern Cheyennes were then dwelling in this village. They thus became involved in the war. In the Indian Appropriation Bill, passed Eighth Month 15th, 1876, Congress again made it a condition that no supplies should be furnished to these Indians until they removed south. In all this time no steps had been taken to set apart a home for them in the Indian Territory or anywhere else, and no agency buildings or other improvements were provided for them. In this condition of things the Sioux Commission, recognizing the right of the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes to a home on the Sioux reservation, and at their desire, made them parties to an agreement, which was accepted by these Indians Ninth Month 20th, 1876, by which they pledged themselves to maintain peace with the United States. This agreement, however, was not to be binding upon either party until it should have received the approval of the President and Congress of the United States.

General Crook had nevertheless determined upon dealing with the Northern Cheyennes and had induced some of the Sioux, Arapahoes, and Northern Cheyennes, to join "in an expedition against the 'Northern Indians,'" not the North-

ern Cheyennes. The term "Northern Indians" was well understood by the Indians at the agencies, and did not embrace any of the Sioux of the Red Cloud or Spotted Tail Indians, or the Northern Cheyennes or Arapahoes. "They were not told that the object was to surprise and attack the Northern Cheyennes. * * * They were deceived, and a part of them induced to join an expedition against their own people, when they supposed that they were going to fight the 'Northern Indians.'"

On the 24th of Eleventh Month, General McKenzie attacked the village of the Northern Cheyennes in the Big Horn Mountains, early in the morning. "The village was fired and burned. It was estimated to contain near three hundred warriors and twelve hundred souls. Many Indians were left dead upon the ground. Many more were killed, but were carried off by their friends. Eight officers and privates were killed, and about twenty-five wounded. The winter store of buffalo meat laid up by the Indians was estimated at 80,000 pounds. This, and 1,200 robes, a large number of saddles, cooking utensils, axes and various tools belonging to the Indians, with all their personal property and clothing, were, with the village, numbering more than two hundred lodges, burned. Over six hundred ponies were captured and given, it was said, to the Indian 'allies.' The Cheyennes that escaped were utterly destitute, scarcely saving even a blanket. The weather was intensely cold, and it was the opinion among the troops that many of the Indians that escaped must perish."

The Chairman of the Commission, George W. Manypenny, adds: "Here was an Indian village, hid away in a secluded place where no white people could reach it. The location was far away from any travelled road, and in the recluse of the mountains. Every indication would go to show that its inmates had not recently been on the war-path, but diligently employed in laying up a winter supply of food, and preparing for market the hides of the buffalo they had slain. These

Indians were deprived of any annuities. They had no home on any reservation, but had a right to roam and hunt, and in the country in which they were, this right was guaranteed to them. It is true that in September previous, they had been incorporated with the Sioux, in the agreement then made, but the agreement required the approval of Congress before it was binding, and that was not given until the following February, and then Congress modified it so that, practically, nothing was left them as a home but the hunting right guaranteed by the treaty of May 10th, 1868. There was, however, in the agreement of September, 1876, with these and the Sioux Indians, a pledge that each individual should 'be protected in his rights of property, person and life,' and this pledge Congress did not disturb. The covenants of this agreement were known to all the military officers at the posts within the Sioux country, and it was known by both General Crook and General McKenzie that the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes were parties to the agreement. * * * Under the circumstances it was a grave offence; it was a crime, to attack this village, kill its inmates and destroy their property. * * * Such conduct should at all times be disavowed by the government, and such of its public servants as participated in it should be severely dealt with."

NEZ PERCÉ WAR OF 1877.

The Nez Percé war in 1877 was brought on by the determination of the United States to possess the Wallowa Valley, in eastern Oregon, which was claimed, and during a part of the year, occupied by a band of Indians who refused to sell it. On the part of the United States it was asserted that this valley had been ceded by a treaty made in 1863, with another portion of the tribe, who constituted a small majority of the whole.

In consequence of the discovery of gold in the Nez Percé country in 1861, and the intrusion, in violation of the treaty

of 1855, of many thousands of white persons upon it, a new treaty was made with a portion of these Indians in 1863, by which they relinquished a portion of their lands and agreed to go upon the Lapwai reservation in western Idaho. Among these lands was the Wallowa Valley, in eastern Oregon, occupied by Chief Joseph and his band, who declined to be parties to the treaty of 1863, and alleged that those who made it were not authorized to act for him and his people. Earnest efforts were made at different times in vain, to induce him to negotiate for the cession of the Wallowa Valley. A Commission appointed in 1876, to visit this band, "to secure their settlement upon reservations," etc., report* respecting their interview with Joseph, "He did not desire Wallowa Valley as a reservation, for that would subject him and his band to the will of and dependence on another, and to laws not of their own making. He was disposed to live peaceably. He and his band had suffered wrong rather than do wrong. One of their number was wickedly slain by a white man during the last summer, but he would not avenge his death."

This Commission also called attention to several provisions of the treaty of 1863, which had never been fulfilled by the government, and says:—

"The Commission would emphasize the opinion that every consideration of justice and equity as well as expediency, demands from the government a faithful and literal compliance with all its treaty obligations toward the Indians. A failure to do this is looked upon as bad faith, and can be productive of only bad results."

Notwithstanding the failure of the government to comply with its promises thus pointed out, the Commission recommended "a speedy military occupancy of the valley by an adequate force to prevent a recurrence of past difficulties between the whites and the Indians. Meanwhile the agent of the Nez Percés should continue his efforts to settle these In-

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877, p. 212.

dians in severalty upon the lands of the reservation that are still vacant ;” also, “that unless they conclude to settle quietly, as above indicated, within a reasonable time, in the judgment of the Department, they should then be placed by force upon the Nez Percé reservation, and in satisfaction of any possible rights of occupancy which they may have, the same aid and allotments of land granted to the treaty Nez Percés should be extended to them on the reservation.”

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs says:—

*“The Department acted upon these recommendations, instructing the agent to hold interviews with these Indians, and also requesting the War Department to take military occupation of the valley in the interest of peace, and to co-operate with the agent in the effort to place Chief Joseph and his band in permanent homes upon the Lapwai reservation. General Howard, with agent Monteith, took charge of the proposed negotiations. * * And it becoming evident to agent Monteith, that all negotiations for the peaceful removal of Joseph and his band, with other non-treaty Nez Percé Indians, to the Lapwai reservation in Idaho, must fail of a satisfactory adjustment, General Howard was placed in full control of all further attempts for their removal.”

Three councils were held by General Howard with these “non-treaty” Indians, which appeared likely to result in their peaceable settlement on the Lapwai reservation. “One day, however, prior to the expiration of the time fixed for their removal,” says the Commissioner, “(namely, June 14th, 1877) open hostilities by these Indians began by the murder of twenty-one white men and women on White Bird Creek, near Mount Idaho, in revenge for the murder of one of their tribe. The few troops under the command of General Howard were ordered out at once.”

Chief Joseph, in an account which he has given of his in-

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877, p. 11.

terviews with General Howard, and of the cause of the war, says:—

* “I knew I had never sold my country, and that I had no land in Lapwai; but I did not want bloodshed. I did not want my people killed. I did not want anybody killed. Some of my people had been murdered by white men, and the white murderers were never punished for it. I told General Howard about this, and again said I wanted no war. I wanted the people who lived upon the lands I was to occupy at Lapwai to have time to gather their harvest. I said in my heart, that rather than have war, I would give up my country. I would give up my father’s grave. I would give up everything rather than have the blood of white men upon the hands of my people.

“General Howard refused to allow me more than thirty days to move my people and their stock. I am sure that he began to prepare for war at once. When I returned to Wallowa I found my people very much excited upon discovering that the soldiers were already in the Wallowa Valley. We held a council, and decided to move immediately to avoid bloodshed. We gathered all the stock we could find, and made an attempt to move. We left many of our horses and cattle in Wallowa, and we lost several hundred in crossing the river. All of my people succeeded in getting across in safety. Many of the Nez Percés came together in Rocky Cañon to hold a grand council. I went with all my people. This council lasted ten days. There was a great deal of war talk, and a great deal of excitement. There was one young brave present whose father had been killed by a white man five years before. This man’s blood was bad against white men, and he left the council, calling for revenge.

“Again I counselled peace, and I thought the danger was past. We had not complied with General Howard’s order

**North American Review for 1879, p. 423, &c.*

because we could not, but we intended to do so as soon as possible.

“I was leaving the council to kill beef for my family, when news came that the young man whose father had been killed, had gone out with several other hot-blooded young braves and killed four white men.”

“There were bad men among my people who had quarrelled with white men, and they talked of their wrongs until they roused all the bad hearts in the council. Still I could not believe that they would begin the war. I know that my young men did a great wrong, but I ask, who was first to blame? They had been insulted a thousand times; their fathers and brothers had been killed; their mothers and wives had been disgraced; they had been driven to madness by whiskey sold to them by white men; they had been told by General Howard that all their horses and cattle which they had been unable to drive out of Wallowa were to fall into the hands of white men; and added to all this they were homeless and desperate.

“I would have given my own life if I could have undone the killing of white men by my people. I blame my young men and I blame the white men. I blame General Howard for not giving my people time to get their stock away from Wallowa. I do not acknowledge that he had the right to order me to leave Wallowa at any time. I deny that either my father or myself ever sold that land. It is still our land. It may never again be our home, but my father sleeps there, and I love it as I love my mother. I left there hoping to avoid bloodshed.”

Chief Joseph concluded his account with the following impressive language:—

“Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we will have no more wars. We shall all be alike—brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us, and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile

upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands from the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people."

The Board of Indian Commissioners in 1877, thus speaks of this war, and others which had occurred since 1871.

* "As to the protection of settlers and the prevention of Indian wars, it is true that the peace policy has not entirely abolished war from the Indian Country. We have had the Apache war, the Modoc war, the Sioux war, and the Nez Percé war. But it is equally true that every one of these wars can be traced to wanton aggressions or broken treaties on the part of the whites. Even the last, with a small band of the Nez Percés, was not an unprovoked outbreak. Wrongs unredressed, crimes committed by white men upon Indians unpunished, treaty stipulations left many years unfulfilled by our government, and encroachments of settlers upon lands claimed never to have been ceded, were causes for uneasiness, and excited constant irritation, which at last broke out in revengeful war. Without justifying his acts, or expressing an opinion as to the measure of guilt which time and future events may attach to Chief Joseph in its instigation, we cannot fail to recognize in his conduct of the hostilities, an absence of those barbarous cruelties usually attending Indian wars, and a humanity in his treatment of women and children which constitute a noble tribute to the civilizing processes under which this red chieftain has been for so many years a subject."

The Board of Indian Commissioners, in 1878, thus speaks of the subsequent treatment of Joseph and his band: † "In surrendering to General Miles, one of the conditions asked of and granted by that officer, was that he (Joseph) and his people

*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1877, p. 6.

†Same Report, p. 51.

should be allowed to return, or be taken to Idaho, which agreement had been violated by superior commanding orders, and instead thereof they were brought under military escort down the Missouri River to Fort Leavenworth, and located on low bottom lands, the very hot bed of malaria; that on their journey to Fort Leavenworth, many of their robes, blankets and other effects, including some of their supplies, were taken from them by their captors; that after a detention of several months in that unhealthy location, they were brought into this [the Indian] Territory, where sickness and death following, had smitten them; where the soil is poor, timber scarce, and water insufficient for profitable agricultural industry; and now their one great desire was to be allowed to return to their old home, or at least to the same latitude and climate. This statement is believed to be true in the main, and if so, Joseph stands before the American people a victim of duplicity; his confidence wantonly betrayed; his substance pillaged; an involuntary exile from home and kindred; his "cause" lost; his people rapidly wasting by pestilence; an object not of haughty contempt or vulgar ridicule, but of generous, humane treatment and consideration."

THE BANNOCK WAR OF 1878.

The failure of the government in 1878 to supply to the Bannock Indians provisions and clothing in compliance with treaty stipulations produced much discontent and suffering among them. Under excitement from these causes, an intoxicated Indian killed two white men. His arrest was followed by the murder of another white man and troops were immediately called for.

The agent in charge of the Fort Hall agency in Idaho, thus alludes to the cause of this war: * "This reservation was established during the summer of 1869, under the provision of a

* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1878, p. 49.

treaty made at Fort Bridger, July 3, 1868, which stipulated that whenever the Bannocks desired it, a reservation would be set apart for their use, and that the United States would secure to them the same rights and privileges, and make the same like expenditures as were provided for the Shoshones in Wyoming. At the very outset the government, to a certain extent, broke the treaty it had made with the *Bannocks*, by directing that all the roaming Indians in southwestern Idaho should be allowed to come upon and make the reservation their home. For a time the Bannocks made no objections to this arrangement; they outnumbered the others, and as they were a race of buffalo hunters, spending most of their time in the Yellowstone country, there were enough annuity goods and other supplies for all. Meanwhile the *Shoshones* kept coming; each year found them more numerous than the previous one. Scarcely any provision was made for their clothing and subsistence, and the Bannocks justly complained that the supplies furnished for them under the Bridger treaty were given to the *Shoshones*."

During the year 1877, they were prevented from hunting and forced to remain upon their reservation, while the Nez Percé war was going on, and accept the scant supply of food which the government had furnished them.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs remarks: * "Excited by what they heard of the war, irritated by what they esteemed to be bad faith in the issuance to them of scant rations, annoyed by the encroachments of the whites upon their reservation, and cherishing a chronic dislike for the *Shoshones*, with whom they were associated at Fort Hall agency (the friendly and peaceable character of the latter rather aggravating their hostility to them,) they became more and more restless until, during the summer of 1877, a Bannock Indian under the influence of whiskey and war-paint started out from the agency, armed with Winchester rifle and revolver, and shot and seri-

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1878, p. xii.

ously wounded two unoffending teamsters, who were passing the agency. The perpetrator of this deed was arrested and handed over to the civil authorities through the instrumentality of the agent, without resistance or opposition. On the same day, as an outcome of the excitement and bitter feeling resulting from this arrest, another Bannock, a friend of the prisoner, shot and killed the agency butcher, Alexander Rhodan. Troops were immediately called for."

He further states: "There are 1500 Indians at the Fort Hall agency more or less dependent for their support upon the government and treaty funds. For the fiscal year 1877, only \$14,000 was appropriated for their subsistence. For the fiscal year 1878, \$29,000 was appropriated, but as the Indians were prevented from hunting during the Nez Percé war, the sum appropriated was entirely insufficient for their support, and they became discontented and restless until bloodshed and murder were followed by open war. For the present fiscal year only \$24,000, which is less than 4½ cents per day per capita, has been appropriated."

"The Indians at Fort Hall agency have received as great a quantity of subsistence as the funds appropriated by Congress has enabled the Indian office to purchase for them. This office cannot be held responsible for a discontent which was mainly caused by late and scant appropriations."

In commenting upon the causes of the war, as reported by the General of the army and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Board of Indian Commissioners in their report for 1878, says: * "The facts presented in those reports make it perfectly evident that the Bannock war might have been prevented had adequate and timely provision been made by Congress for the support of those Indians when they were cut off from their usual resources of the chase." And adds: "We heartily endorse the conclusion of General Sherman, that for such emergencies Congress alone can provide a remedy; and,

* Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1878, p. 5.

if prevention be wiser than cure, money and discretion must be lodged somewhere in time to prevent starvation."

OUTBREAK OF THE NORTHERN CHEYENNES, 1878-9.

The employment of troops to prevent the return of the Northern Cheyennes to their former home in Dakota, from a sickly reservation in the Indian Territory, resulted in bloodshed and outrages upon the white settlers in Kansas, which it is believed would not otherwise have occurred. This was followed early in 1879 by a massacre of one hundred of these Indians by United States troops, under circumstances which create feelings of abhorrence in every humane mind.

The Northern Cheyennes had participated in the war waged in 1876 against the Sioux, and had surrendered to General Miles in the spring of 1877, at Camp Robinson, in Nebraska. They were treated as prisoners of war, but were given the option to go with the Sioux who were ordered to the Missouri River or to the Indian Territory. They chose the latter alternative, but with great reluctance. They left the Red Cloud Agency in Dakota, the 25th of Fifth Month, 1877, 972 in number, under the charge of a military officer, and on the 5th of Eighth Month, arrived at Fort Reno, in the Indian Territory: a journey of seventy days, during which thirty-five of their number died. Reaching the territory, they sickened. In the fall of 1878, Dull Knife's band, numbering about 300 men, women and children, decided to return. They were followed by a military force and attacked. They retaliated by killing forty white settlers. One part reached the Sioux; the rest were taken prisoners, but refused to return to the Indian Territory. An effort was made by the officer in command to reduce them to submission by cold and starvation, and in desperate efforts to escape, they were nearly all killed: the last group of them having been surrounded, and, while

huddled together in a hollow space to which they fled for safety, were shot.

The feelings of abhorrence excited by these events induced Congress to appoint a special commission to examine into the circumstances attending them, from whose report the following is extracted: * "The transfer of the Northern Cheyennes to the Indian Territory was attended with much fatal sickness. * * It was the change of climate and water that rendered the sickness so universal and so fatal. Both in 1877 and in 1878 the government had failed to provide a sufficient supply of medicines. The results were the total dissatisfaction of the immigrants with the country and with the government. This was neither an unreasonable nor an unjust dissatisfaction. * * * The supply of rations was short in 1877-78, wanting from one-fourth to one-third of the treaty allowance. This was doubtless the result of a miscalculation, based on the supposed ability of the Indians still to provide for the deficiency by hunting—and much of the food was of very poor quality."

"In August, 1878, the sanitary condition of the Indians is thus described by Agent Miles, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:—

" 'The intense heat of the present summer has had the effect to increase the mortality, and it is no exaggerated estimate when the number of sick people on the reservation is placed at 2,000. Many deaths have occurred which might have been obviated had there been a proper supply of anti-malarial remedies at hand. Ninety-five ounces of quinine were received in advance of the annual supply, and was consumed in less than ten days. The success of the agency physician has been gratifying, and the only cause of ill-success has been due to the lack of medicines. Hundreds applying for treatment have been refused medicine, and the result has been a resort to their native medicine and the perpetuation of their superstitious rites.' "

*Senate Report No. 708, 46th Congress, 2d Sess., p. xiv.

The physician could not speak their language, and they had little or no instruction in nursing the sick, and could not properly administer the few medicines furnished them. The agent and the physician did all in their power, by the use of mails and telegraph, to relieve against this suffering; but their requisitions were treated with neglect and indifference."

On the 9th of Ninth Month, 1878, a party of about 300, under Chief Dull Knife, including 87 warriors in all, started out from the agency with the determination to return northward and rejoin their old friends, the Sioux. The special investigating committee further says:—

"In several other important particulars, such as the distribution of annuity goods, money, cattle, farming utensils, etc., and in building houses for the chiefs, and in placing the Indians on different lands from those granted them in the treaties, the government had not complied with its treaty obligations towards the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. It is impossible to say that these were or were not the causes that led 300 Indians in a body to escape from the Territory and to return to Dakota. They were doubtless provoking causes to that hegira, but the Indians were also strongly impelled by a longing desire to return to their native country, and by a feeling of disgust towards their new location. * * Truth and justice require that it should be said that these Indians did not leave the Indian Territory on a maraud, but only with the intention of escaping to their former home.

"They went away prepared to fight, but they did not fight until the United States troops attacked them. Then they fought with desperation and success."

In their flight through Kansas, these Indians killed more than forty men, women and children, and committed other outrages. They were overtaken and finally surrendered to the troops in Northern Nebraska, and were taken to Fort Robinson and held as prisoners. Here they were informed that it was the intention of the government to send them back to the

Indian Territory. The Special Commission further reports: "that they were extremely averse to going back to the Territory; that it was mid-winter, and they were thinly clad; that their consent to immediate removal was demanded; that the requirement was not complied with; that it was determined to starve and freeze them into submission; that men, women and children were accordingly starved for five days, during which time they were allowed no food, and for three days no water, and no wood for fires; that their chiefs, Wild Hog and Crow, were enticed into the quarters of the commanding officer of the fort, on a pretense of having a talk with them; that they were seized and shackled; that Wild Hog, in an attempt to take his own life, wounded one or more of the soldiers around him with his knife; that during the night of that day, the 9th of January, 1879, the Indians in the barracks broke through the guards, killing two of them, and made an attempt to reach the hills; that men, women and children were killed, until only a few remained alive."

Of these 148 Indians, about 100 were killed. The Commission further states: "The massacre was in every sense discreditable, and was without justification, except that it resulted from orders given at a great distance from the scene of action, and the orders were imperative that the Indians should be then removed. The weather was then of extreme severity. The process of starving and freezing women and children, *in order to compel men into obedience*, is not justifiable in the eyes of civilized men. The outbreak was a most daring and desperate choice of alternatives, which the Indians expressed in the following language, 'We have got to die, but we will not die here like dogs; we will die on the prairie; we will die fighting.'"

THE UTE WAR OF 1879.

A principal cause of the war with the Utes in 1879, was the flagrant disregard of treaty stipulations by the intrusion of

white persons on their lands. Before the United States entered into definite treaty relations with them, the Ute Indians roamed over a vast country embraced in western Colorado, eastern Utah, northern New Mexico and Arizona, and southern Wyoming. In 1868 a treaty was made with them by which it was agreed that a district in western Colorado "shall be, and the same is hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians, as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them, and the United States now solemnly agree that no persons except those herein authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents and employés of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon or reside in the territory described in this article, except as herein otherwise provided." This treaty also provided for the arrest and punishment of bad men among the whites and bad men among the Indians for wrongs done by them; for the payment of annuities; and for other beneficial acts in consideration of the relinquishment by the Indians of their claims to an extensive territory.

George W. Manypenny, who was chairman of a Commission to the Utes in 1880, thus narrates subsequent events in their history: * "This treaty was not ratified and proclaimed until November 6, 1868, and hence during that year no specific appropriations were made to carry its provisions into effect. On the 8th of June, 1869, Gov. Hunt called the attention of the Indian office to this fact, and said that in many year's experience among Indian tribes he 'found delays the most fruitful of all causes which engendered war. An Indian * * cannot comprehend why the officers of a government in the possession of unlimited wealth cannot be as prompt as a poor

* "Our Indian Wards," p. 397, &c.

untutored native; nor can this failure so often repeated, be explained satisfactorily to him.”

“Notwithstanding the pledge of the government in the treaty of 1868, that no person should settle in the Ute reservation, miners gradually entered it on prospecting tours, and in time they began to locate and work the mines. Gov. McCook [who was also ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Colorado,] had expressed the opinion that every American should be allowed to go freely and without hindrance on the soil where our flag floated, and hence these trespassers had nothing to fear from him, and as time passed they increased in numbers.”

“In the spring of 1872, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into negotiations with the Utes for the extinguishment of their title to the southern part of their reservation, which was then overrun by miners and ranchmen.”

“The Indians were averse to selling any portion of the reservation, and urged that the intruders should be removed.”

These negotiations ended without accomplishing their object, but another Commission in 1873, succeeded in inducing the Indians to relinquish about 4,000,000 acres of their reservation in which valuable mines had been discovered, for an annual payment to them of \$25,000 by the United States.

“It was stipulated in the agreement, that all the provisions of the treaty of 1868, should be, and remain, in full force and effect; and the pledge in that treaty, that no person, except officers and agents of the government, and other persons authorized by law, should ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside on the Ute reservation, was expressly re-affirmed.”

“With the surrender of the portion of the Ute reservation obtained by the Brunot agreement of [1873,] the Indians had a right to, and did expect that they would be relieved from any further inroads; that, having given up the mining territory, they would be protected in what was termed the agricultural

lands. But this was a delusion. The grazing country was just as much coveted as the mineral, and 'ranchmen' intruded to prospect for good locations, where they could herd and graze stock, some of whom now occupy the valley with their ranches."

"To say that there has been no violence or disorder among the Utes since they came under treaty relations in 1868, would be to place them in moral conduct above any society in the United States. To say that they have been remarkably orderly and pacific, is simply to do them justice. There is an almost unbroken chain of evidence in their behalf in the reports of the agents."

The Board of Indian Commissioners in their report for 1879, bear testimony to the general peaceable character of the Utes, and state the following facts in relation to the encounter with the United States troops, which led to the subsequent dispersion of the Indians and the loss of the greater part of their reservation.

* "Though hitherto friendly and peaceable, they had, for many months previous to the outbreak, been discontented and restless, showing a determined opposition to the adoption of civilized modes of life. Their reservation had been encroached upon by miners and settlers in direct violation of treaty stipulations, and they had heard with anxious forebodings the declaration of the Governor of Colorado, reiterated with emphasis by the western press, that the 'Utes must go.' Conversant as these Indians are with the treatment of their race by the whites in the past, it is not strange that they interpreted this ominous threat to mean confiscation of their lands and homes, to satisfy the insatiable greed of the white man.

"During this excited condition of the tribe, sullen and irritated by the encroachments of whites and the urgent demands of the government, to enlarge the area of cultivation, (they believing that the land when plowed would cease to be their

*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1879, p. 9.

property,) the report suddenly comes that an armed force is rapidly marching to the agency—a force too large and war-like to justify any pretence that its errand was one of peace.

“The Indians see no other object for sending an army against them but that of executing the threat of the Governor. Councils are called and the agent is requested to despatch a courier to invite Major Thornburg and the officer in command of the troops to send a delegation of five officers to the agency for a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, leaving the soldiers where they were.

“The courier returns and reports that the troops were making forced marches toward the agency, and armed resistance is immediately determined upon. The Indians give battle in a furious attack upon the advancing forces, and the brave Major Thornburg, and twelve of his command were slain. Believing the agent to be jointly responsible for the attack, in their fury and desperation the Indians enter upon an indiscriminate massacre of himself and employés, seven of whom fall victims to the frenzy of the savage foe.”

“As soon as the news of the outbreak reached the ears of the citizens of Colorado, the wildest and most exaggerated rumors were circulated and the government was called upon to commence at once a war of extermination.

“The administration, unmoved by these appeals, determined to try the virtue of a peace policy, and appointed a special Commission to ascertain the guilty parties who participated in the massacre, with a view of bringing them to justice, thus avoiding if possible a general Indian war. In this undertaking Chief Ouray co-operated to the utmost of his ability.”

In consequence of these efforts a number of their principal men came to Washington, and entered into an agreement for the surrender of the parties implicated in the murder of the agent and the employés of the agency, and also for the cession of a large part of the reservation, stated to contain 12,000,000 of acres, and for the removal of three of their bands to differ-

ent localities, where they were to hold their land in severalty. In consideration of which the United States agreed to increase their annuities, establish and maintain schools, &c. This agreement was not to be binding upon the Indians until ratified by three-fourths of the adult male members of the tribe.

A commission was appointed to secure the ratification of this agreement by the Indians, and execute the provisions of the same. This was successfully accomplished. In the report* of this Commission, dated "January 20th, 1881," they bear the following testimony to the general character of these Indians: "The reports of the agents among the Ute Indians made from year to year since our first treaty relations with them bear evidence of their orderly disposition and desire to avoid complications and conflicts with the white people. Some of them, it is true, committed deeds of violence deeply to be deplored. In such cases, and they are but few, a careful investigation of surrounding circumstances will show that the Indians were inspired by events that aroused their savage passions, and led them to commit the crimes referred to. In our intercourse with them for several months during the past summer and fall we can without hesitation confirm all that their agents have said in relation to their disposition and general good conduct."

One of the members of that Commission, Alfred B. Meacham, has given the following account of an event attending the close of their labors with the Uncompahgre band of the Utes: †"Now came the great trial of their lives for the Utes, leaving their homes and their dead. The scenes that transpired in this connection beggar description. While the Indian man is apparently stoical and indifferent, the women are not so. The latter are demonstrative and give vent to their emotions. No people have deeper feelings than the Indians. The Commission did not order the Utes to move, but turned over the painful duty to General McKenzie, U. S. A., commanding canton-

*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1881, p. 201.

†*The Council Fire*, Vol. IV., p. 163.

ment on the Uncompahgre. The general summoned the chiefs and head men and announced that they must go. He gave them until the following morning to decide whether they would go peaceably, at the same time telling them that if they refused he would compel their removal with the bayonet.

"At the time appointed the Utes informed him of their decision to start without military interference. Meanwhile the impatient settlers had gathered along the reservation line waiting for the Indians to make a start. It required more show of authority to restrain the white men than to impel the Utes to move. The latter collected their stock, tore down their lodges and slowly departed, leaving the ground warm with farewell kisses and dampened with their tears. One who was a witness of this sad scene says:

"It would be impossible to convey an idea of the grief of these poor squaws when they bade their children kiss the ground amid the wild lamentations and cries of anguish too great for utterance.' As the clouds of dust, raised by the tramp of fifteen thousand head of Indian cattle, sheep, goats and horses, rose up over the valley of the Uncompahgre to the westward, another cloud of almost as great dimensions rose from the rushing thousands of settlers, who would not wait until the Indian was out of sight before coming to possess his home."

WARS WITH THE APACHE INDIANS AND THE OUTBREAKS OF 1881 AND 1882.

The Apaches have of late been regarded as a peculiarly savage and intractable tribe, yet for several years after the first establishment of treaty stipulations with them, they were friendly and peaceable. An act of treachery committed by a party of white men by which a number of their men, women and children were murdered in cold blood led to acts of revenge, and a war ensued, attended with great cruelty on both sides, which continued for several years.

In 1853 a treaty was made with the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Indians, in which it was declared that peace, friendship and amity shall hereafter exist between the parties of this treaty ; and the United States “ bind themselves in consideration of the covenants contained in the preceding articles of this treaty, to protect and defend the Indian tribes, parties hereto, against the committal of any depredations upon them, and in their territories, by the people of the United States, for and during the term for which this treaty shall be in force, and to compensate them for any injuries that may result therefrom.”

For several years after this treaty these Indians lived in friendly relations with the whites, until by an act of treachery a party of their principal men, with women and children, was murdered by a band of trappers upon the headwaters of the Gila River; upon which the Indians retaliated by killing a company of unsuspecting white men ; and a war began which lasted several years. General Carleton, commanding the United States troops in New Mexico, early gave orders that * “ There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks; the men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found : ” and by a course of unrelenting severity inculcated the idea that these Indians were to be indiscriminately destroyed. Acting in accordance with these instructions and with the intention of driving the Indians from the mountainous district where the precious metals had been discovered, some of the citizens of Arizona united with the military in this inhuman treatment of the aborigines.

Vincent Colyer, one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, in his report made in 1871, after recounting several incidents of like character, continues : † “ More recently the massacre at Camp Grant has shocked all Christendom, wherein 118 women and children and 8 men were killed in cold blood by

* Report of the Condition of the Indian Tribes, 1867, p. 99.

† Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1871, p. 35.

white people of Tucson and their Papago allies, while they were sleeping in confidence under the 'protection' of the American flag 'as prisoners of war.' Events like these and many others would seem to be quite sufficient to have made these Apaches the 'blood-thirsty and relentless savages' they are now reported to be."

He also states: "This report shows plainly that, according to the records of the Indian Department, the Apache Indians were the friends of the Americans when they first knew them; that they have always desired peace with them, and when placed upon reservations in 1858 and 1859 were industrious, intelligent, and made rapid progress in the arts of civilization, that their ill will and constant war with the Mexicans arose from the fact that the Mexicans denied them any rights to the soil as original occupants, and waged a war of extermination against them; that the peaceable relations of the Apaches with the Americans continued until the latter adopted the Mexican theory of 'extermination,' and by acts of inhuman treachery and cruelty made them our implacable foes: that this policy has resulted in a war which, in the last ten years, has cost us a thousand lives and over forty millions of dollars; * * * that the present war will cost the people of the United States between three and four millions of dollars this year; that these Indians still beg for peace, and all of them can be placed on reservations and fed at an expense of less than half a million of dollars a year, without the loss of a life.

"On representing these facts to the President [Grant,] Commissioner Colyer was directed to proceed to New Mexico and Arizona, and there take such measures as he deemed wisest to locate these Apache Indians upon suitable reservations, feed, clothe, and otherwise care for them; and the President instructed the War Department to co-operate with the Commissioner."

On the return of the Commissioner to Washington, arrange-

ments were made for the protection and subsistence of these Indians upon reservations, and directions given for their permanent residence.

The Board of Indian Commissioners in their report for 1873 refer "to a few straggling bands of Apaches," who had been hostile during that year.

In their report for 1875, they state; in reference to the general results of the peace policy: * "During the past year there has been no organized act of hostility by any tribe or band of Indians, the most of them having remained quietly on their reservations, and having manifested a disposition to comply with the requirements of the government."

"The improvement in these respects, especially among the wilder tribes, is as conspicuous as it is gratifying, and denotes that the policy which has been pursued has been generally satisfactory to the Indians, and salutary in its influences upon them."

"In like manner the Apaches of Arizona have remained quietly upon their reservations, and have abstained from depredations, with the result that during the past year travel among them has been as safe as in any other territory."

In 1881, an outbreak occurred among the Apaches in Arizona, which appeared to have been caused by several aggravating circumstances, but was precipitated by an event which is thus described by Robert Frazer in a report made by him to the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, of his visit to the Apaches of the White Mountain reservation in 1884: "In 1881 there lived among the Apaches, near Fort Apache, a medicine man named Ba-ka-dy-kli-né, who had great influence with them. This man held a medicine dance at Apache and one on the Cibicu Creek, the object of which was to bring rain. For some reason he had come under suspicion of the authorities, and fearing probably, that he was plotting treason, orders were issued to arrest him. A detachment was

*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1875, p. 1.

sent out and the arrest effected without resistance or difficulty, by the Indian scouts themselves, notwithstanding the fact that suspicion of their fidelity had already been exhibited by compelling them to go for a time without arms.

"Ba-ka-dy-kli-né was brought to the camp on the Cibicu. Then, as I was told by an Indian, who had been present, named Iton, now just released from confinement in the military prison in Alcatraz in consequence of this affair, he was set down by the fire. The neighboring Indians naturally crowded around through curiosity. They were ordered to go away, and at the order, a soldier fired twice at the medicine man, killing him. At this the scouts fired on the soldiers, and jumped into the bush.

"Captain Hentig was killed in this melancholy affair, which was the beginning of war. Some fifty Indians were seized, ironed two by two, and taken to Fort Thomas. The Indians retaliated by raids beyond the reservation, and down to the close of 1882 remained in open hostility to the whites."

The cause of a subsequent outbreak with another band of these Indians is thus stated by Robert Frazer: "The Chiricahuas were moved from the reservation in the Chiricahua Mountains to the hot and rather unhealthful agency on the Gila River, fifteen miles above San Carlos. The change was not agreeable to them, and the accidental killing of one of their women in the attempt to make an arrest among them became the immediate occasion of the outbreak of 1882."

THE SIOUX WAR OF 1890.

The recent hostilities with the Sioux may be traced to a combination of circumstances.

After several ineffectual attempts to obtain from them the cession of 11,000,000 acres of their reservation, a Commission was appointed in 1889 by President Harrison to present to these Indians, for their acceptance, an agreement for the sale

of these lands. The price and other terms of this agreement were specified in an Act of Congress, "approved March 2nd, 1889, entitled 'An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux nation in Dakota into separate reservations, and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes,' and it was provided that it should not be binding unless the consent was obtained of three-fourths of the male members of the tribe. This Commission reported on the 24th of Twelfth Month, 1889, to the President, that they had secured the consent of three-fourths of the adult Indians to the terms of this act, evidenced by their signatures.

On the 10th of Second Month, 1890, the President transmitted this report to Congress, together with a message, in which he states: * "At the outset of the negotiations, the Commission was confronted by certain questions as to the interpretation and effect of the act of Congress which they were presenting for the acceptance of the Indians. Upon two or three points of some importance the Commission gave, in response to these inquiries, an interpretation to the law, and it was the law thus explained to them that was accepted by the Indians. The Commissioners had no power to bind Congress or the executive by their construction of a statute, but they were the agents of the United States, first to submit a definite proposition for the acceptance of the Indians, and, that failing, to agree upon modified terms, to be submitted to Congress for ratification. They were dealing with an ignorant and suspicious people, and an explanation of the terms, and effect of the offer submitted could not be avoided. Good faith demands that if the United States expects the lands ceded, the beneficial construction of the act given by our agents should be also admitted and observed."

Before any action of Congress in reference to this communication could take place, the President, on the same day, Second

*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 51. 51st Congress, 1st Sess. p. 1.

Month 10, 1890, issued a proclamation declaring these lands open for settlement. A stream of white settlers immediately entered upon the land which the Indians were obliged to witness, though knowing that the promises made to them by the Commissioners had not been fulfilled, nor the stipulated money been paid them.

During the summer of 1889, a large number of the Indians were absent from their homes attending the conferences with the Sioux Commissioners regarding the proposed cession of a part of their reservation.

F. C. Armstrong, a Government inspector, reported in the Fourth Month, 1890, "This enforced absence caused them to lose all they had planted, by the stock breaking in and destroying everything they had. They have been compelled to kill their private stock during the winter to keep from starving."

At the same time the rations issued to the Indians were considerably reduced. A certain amount of discretion was allowed to the government by the former treaties to reduce the rations, as the Indians "became self-supporting," but in reference to this subject the Commissioners state in their report: * dated "Dec. 24, 1889," "During our conference at the different agencies we were repeatedly asked whether the acceptance or rejection of the act of Congress would influence the action of the government with reference to their rations, and in every instance the Indians were assured that subsistence was furnished in accordance with former treaties, and that signing would not affect their rations, and that they would continue to receive them as provided in former treaties. Without our assurances to this effect it would have been impossible to have secured their consent to the cession of their lands. Since our visit to the agencies it appears that large reductions have been made in the amounts of beef furnished for issues, amounting at Rosebud to 2,000,000 pounds, and at Pine Ridge

*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 51. 51st Congress, 1st Sess. p. 23.

to 1,000,000 pounds, and lesser amounts at the other agencies. This action of the Department, following immediately after the successful issue of our negotiations, cannot fail to have an injurious effect. It will be impossible to convince the Indians that the reduction is not due to the fact that the government, having obtained their land, has less concern in looking after their material interests than before. It will be looked upon as a breach of faith, and especially as a violation of the express statements of the Commissioners."

Owing to dry weather the crops of 1890 were very light, and the effects of two successive seasons of this character were serious. Red Cloud states in a letter * dated "Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, December 10th, 1890," "None of the treaties made by the government with us since 1868 have been fairly fulfilled, but our rations have been cut down more and more every year and former delinquencies were not made good. The past two seasons have been so dry that we could raise little or nothing, and the rations were so scant that we were obliged to kill our own cattle to keep us all from starving to death." "In consequence of these hard times many of my people got weak, and sick from the want of a proper quantity of food, 217 of them dying since the fall of last year from starvation."

One cause of the reduction in the amount of rations furnished the Sioux is attributable to the dilatory action of Congress in passing the appropriation bills which authorize the Commissioner of Indian affairs to make the necessary contracts for the purchase of beef and other supplies. This officer of the government in a communication† designed to be laid before Congress dated "August 8th, 1890," thus states the difficulties and loss to the Indians caused by this delay, and the need for prompt action.

"The treaty with the Sioux requires that their clothing be

* *Congressional Record*. 51st Congress, 2d Sess. No. 17, p. 728.

† *Congressional Record*, 51st Congress, 2d Sess. No. 61, p. 2714.

delivered to them 'at the agency house on the reservation herein named, on or before the 1st day of August of each year, for thirty years,' a provision which it is impossible to comply with.

"Since the 1st of July, in order to keep the Indians from actual want, beef and flour amounting to over \$115,000 have had to be purchased in open market at the lowest obtainable rates, but these rates were, in many instances, considerably higher than contract rates, and as the amounts to be appropriated have already been fixed, these higher prices will necessitate a reduction in the quantities to be purchased, and may result in short rations for the Indians.

"As an example of the loss this delay of the passage of the Indian appropriation bill entails to the government, I would state that one of the bids for beef received and accepted by me was for 1,000,000 pounds at \$2.62, 'delivery to be made in August,' but the delay in the passage of the Indian bill will prevent the delivery of the beef. The next lowest bidder is at \$2.74, and the contract must be made with this bidder at a loss to the Indians, on this one transaction, of \$1,200."

In connection with the discontent arising from these causes, a delusion which appeared some years ago among the Indians farther west, and had spread to some extent among the Sioux was now accepted by many. The believers in this doctrine declared that a Messiah would soon appear to redress their wrongs and restore prosperity; their deceased relatives would return to life; the white man would disappear, etc. The advocates of these views as originally promulgated taught that they were to be fulfilled by supernatural and peaceful means. Suited as these hopes were to the distressed and almost despairing condition of the Indians, they were eagerly embraced by many among them, particularly those of the more ignorant class and those who were opposed to the habits of civilized life.

In this excitement many among them were encouraged to

believe that they would be invulnerable to the attacks of their enemies, yet it does not appear that the Indians had any deliberate purpose to commence hostilities against the whites.

General Ruger who made a personal investigation of the condition of the Sioux at the direction of the President, reported under date of "November 26, 1890," in reference to the Cheyenne and Standing Rock reservations, that, * "There was no evidence direct, nor fact from which inference might be drawn, that there was an intent by the Indians concerned in the dances on either reservation to become hostile, but the opinion of the best and most intelligent Indians was, if the matter should be allowed to go on without check, that trouble would come; also that those concerned in *originating* the excitement should be arrested."

Yielding, however, to the demands which had been made by white persons in and near the reservations who had become alarmed for their personal safety, the President on the 13th of Eleventh Month, 1890, placed the matter in the hands of the military officers of the government. Troops were immediately sent.

The chief conflict which took place arose from an attempt to disarm a party of Indians, and is thus described by Elaine Goodale, the Superintendent of Indian education at Pine Ridge Agency, under date of "January 12th," [1891,]† "The testimony of the survivors of Big Foot's band is unanimous on one important point, namely, that the Indians did not deliberately plan a resistance. The party was not a war party, according to their statements (which I believe to be true,) but a party intending to visit the agency at the invitation of Red Cloud. The Indians say that many of the men were unarmed. When they met the troops they anticipated no trouble. There was constant friendly intercourse between the soldiers and the

*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2. 51st Congress, 2d Sess. p. 10.

†*Congressional Record*. 51st Congress, 2d Sess. No. 47, p. 2009.

Indians, even women shaking hands with the officers and men.

“The demand for their arms was a surprise to the Indians, but the great majority of them chose to submit quietly. The tepees had already been searched and a large number of guns, knives, and hatchets confiscated, when the searching of the persons of the men was begun. The women say that they, too, were searched, and their knives (which they always carry for domestic purposes) taken from them. A number of the men had surrendered their rifles and cartridge belts, when one young man (who is described by the Indians as a good-for-nothing young fellow,) fired a single shot. This called forth a volley from the troops, and the firing and confusion became general.

“I do not credit the statement which has been made by some that the women carried arms and participated actively in the fight. The weight of testimony is overwhelmingly against this supposition. There may have been one or two isolated cases of this kind, but there is no doubt that the great majority of the women and children, as well as many unarmed men and youths, had no thought of anything but flight. They were pursued up the ravines and shot down indiscriminately by the soldiers.” “The killing of the women and children was in part unavoidable, owing to the confusion, but I think there is no doubt that it was in many cases deliberate and intentional.” “The party of scouts who buried the dead reports 84 bodies of men and boys, 44 of women, and 18 of young children. Some were carried off by the hostiles. A number of prisoners chiefly women have since died of their wounds, and more will soon follow.”

Preceding each of the outbreaks above referred to, it is to be observed that feelings of distrust and animosity had long prevailed, arising from the encroachments of the whites upon the lands of the Indians, and in some cases by the violations of other agreements respecting the supplies of provisions and

clothing promised by the United States in consideration of the relinquishment of extensive territories. In one case we may see much dissatisfaction arose from the evil effects of intoxicating drinks, which, first introduced by the white man, has been declared by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs to have been "the one great curse of the Indian country, the prolific source of disorder, tumult, crime and disease."

It is also apparent from this brief review that the responsibility for these occurrences does not rest upon any one department of the government, but that a disregard of the rights of the Indians on the part of private individuals, executive officers, and by Congress itself has largely contributed to these results.

In order to prevent the recurrence of such events as we have been considering, is it not incumbent upon the nation that the salutary enactments and stipulations already in force for the benefit of the Indians should be more faithfully observed; and that such other measures be adopted as will secure them in the occupancy of their homes and lands, protect them in person and life, and by a more general system of education in school learning and industrial arts, adapted to the varying condition of different tribes, promote their advancement in the arts of civilization?

During their transition from nomadic habits to those of civilized life, these "wards of the nation" require special protection and care. With this object in view it seems needful and right that the general government should be represented upon the various reservations by an official, clothed with large administrative and executive powers. It is therefore of the first importance that these appointments be made, only upon receiving the most satisfactory evidence of fitness for the service. When it is considered that the duties of an Indian agent require the careful disbursement of large sums of money, he must needs be a man of tried integrity, as well as business ability. Being often called upon to decide nice

questions of justice, he must possess a quickness of perception as to the rights of all parties concerned, that will enable him to settle differences fairly and wisely. Since the Indian is to be trained in habits of industry and thrift, no little sympathy, tact, and patience are needed in leading him out of his own desultory methods, and natural disinclination to accept the white man's way. In all his intercourse, not only with his dependent charge, but with those of our own people by whom he is surrounded, the agent should be able to gain the esteem and confidence of both races. Such qualities it may not be easy to find combined, but happily they do exist, and should be among the requisites for this very responsible and important post. On the other hand, the salary attached to the office should be commensurate with the large degree of responsibility and self-sacrifice involved in a faithful discharge of its duties. Where the needed qualifications are in good measure found, the appointment should be made, without regard to mere partisan considerations, and when his worth has been duly tested, the incumbent should be retained in office, without fear of removal upon every change of administration. With upright, kindly and capable men as agents, and a magnanimous, straightforward course steadily maintained by our government, we feel sure that the rapid advancement of the Indian would astonish those who may now be disposed to belittle or malign him.

Thus shielded from the designs of grasping and avaricious men, encouraged by the unwavering friendship of the government, and assisted in the development of those powers by which they might enter into successful competition with the surrounding whites, we may reasonably expect the aborigines to contribute in a far greater degree than they have yet done toward the general prosperity of our common country, while sharing with us in its benefits.

The policy has recently been adopted of allotting the lands of the Indians to be held in severalty, at the discretion of

the President of the United States, and disposing of the remainder of their reservations at public sale, without the necessity of previously obtaining the consent of the majority of the Indians occupying them. This course which is intended to secure to the Indians the powerful incentive to industry growing out of individual ownership, also opens a door by which some tribes may be divested of a large portion of their landed possessions without their consent, and be forced into altered conditions for which they are unprepared. In order to realize beneficial results for the Indians, it will therefore require the exercise of a wise and discriminating judgment in the application of this system to different communities, as also the sympathy and help of those among the white settlers with whom as neighbors, the individual Indian will henceforth be brought into new relations and even close competition in his efforts to earn a livelihood.

The acquisition of large portions of Indian reservations by purchase, and the subsequent settlement of them by whites, must also bring the two races into still closer contact; and measures suited for the protection and encouragement of a people emerging from a lower form of civilization, will become necessary if the changes now taking place in their condition are to result to their improvement and permanent welfare.

The wars which have occurred during the last twenty years though involving a comparatively small number of Indians in the aggregate; are shown by the statistics to have been enormously expensive, the expenditure on this account for ten years alone from 1872 to 1882, having been, as stated in official documents, \$202,994,506.* Since the organization of the government in 1776 to Sixth Month 30th, 1886, its disbursements on account of the Indians are estimated to have been upwards of \$929,000,000: of which \$696,339,277, or more than two-thirds of the whole amount have been chargeable to wars with them and expenses incident thereto.†

*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 123. 47th Congress, 1st Sess.

†Smithsonian Report for 1885. Part II., p. 881.

These statements are in striking contrast with the fact, that in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, friendly relations with the natives were established by a course of justice and kindness, in obedience to what we believe are the commands of our Saviour and his apostles, and maintained for upwards of seventy years without the existence of a military force, while neighboring colonies, trusting to an armed defence for their protection, were involved in frequent and desolating wars with the native tribes.

Although considerations of sound economy alone would point out the propriety of observing strict justice and kindness in dealing with these people, the obligations of morality and religion furnish still stronger incentives to such a course. Especially would we appeal to those who, having known something in their own experience of that love in which Jesus Christ laid down his life for all mankind, are able to recognize in the Indian an object of his redeeming mercy. The influence of such as these in the community, the spreading of correct views in regard to the numerous tribes, and the treating of the various questions which arise touching the conditions of the Indians, in accordance with Christian sentiments and that forbearance toward them in their uncultured state which such sentiments inspire; we believe would under the Divine blessing rapidly tend to diminish the prejudices which have warped the judgment of many respecting the policy which ought to be pursued toward them, and infuse into the conduct of the government and of individuals that consideration which is becoming a powerful nation when dealing with a dépendent people.

The Indian judges of men by their actions rather than words, and were the intercourse of our people and government with him marked by those qualities which characterize the benign religion we profess, we believe the day could not be distant when its blessed effects would accord with the angelic anthem by which it was ushered in:—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men."

